

Message Text

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FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01

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SUBJ: PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S APRIL 30, 1976, MEMORANDUM FOR THE
SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MEMORANDUM HANDED TO THE SECRETARY
BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT AT THEIR APRIL 30 MEETING. EMBASSY COMMENTS
WILL FOLLOW BY SEPARATE MESSAGE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE SPECIAL CASE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

SOUTHER AFRICA PRESENTS A SPECIAL CASE TO LIBERIA, AFRICA AND
FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES THE WORLD OVER. IN THIS AREA OF AFRICA,
THE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES IN POWER SEEM UNWILLING TO EXTEND TO
THE BLACK MAJORITY FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERN-
MENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

BUT THIS IS NOT THE ONLY THORN IN AFRICA'S FLESH. IN SOUTHERN
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AFRICA THE INHUMAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IS SPREADING ITS TENTACLES

FROM THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA TO OTHER AREAS SUCH AS NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. THIS POLICY, EVEN THOUGH CONDEMNED BY THE OAU, THE UNITED NATIONS AND MUCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN DEEPER ROOTS AND THE WHITE REGIMES APPARENTLY HAVE NO INTENTION OF ABIDING BY RESOLUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR YIELDING TO PRESSURES FOR MEANINGFUL CHANGE.

PARALLEL TO THIS IS THE DEVELOPMENT IN COUNTRIES OF THAT AREA OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. RECENTLY, CUBAN TROOPS INTERVENED IN ANGOLA, AND CUBA AND THE USSR SEEM BENT ON REMAINING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA UNTIL COLONIALISM IS COMPLETELY ERADICATED, AND MARXIST SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS INSTALLED AS THEIR COMPENSATION.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IT IS EVIDENT THAT, SINCE THE FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA DURING THE COUSE OF THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS, IT HAS BEEN NECESSARY FOR BOTH THE RACIST MINORITY REGIMES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THOSE FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE DIRECT OR INDIRECT RELATIONS WITH THESE REGIMES TO REASSESS THE SITUATION IN THAT PART OF AFRICA VIS-A-VIS THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN AFRICANS AND EUROPEANS.

BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN, IN THAT ORDER, ARE THE PRINCIPAL INVESTORS IN THE AREAS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA CONTROLLED BY THESE RACIST REGIMES.

THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH THE RACIST REGIMES RECEIVE FROM SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES SERVE TO PERPETUATE THEIR OBNOXIOUS POLICY OF APARTHEID AND UNDOUBTEDLY ENCOURAGE THE ADAMANT INTRANSIGENCE OF THESE REGIMES.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS AGAINST THESE MINORITY REGIMES HAVE NOT HAD THE KIND OF IMPACT THAT THEY WOULD HAVE HAD ON THE ECONOMIES AND POLITICAL OUTLOOK OF BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA HAD THEY BEEN FULL SUPPORTED BY ALL THE MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE AFOREMENTIONED COUNTRIES.

ON 1ST APRIL 1975, THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
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VOTED UNANIMOUSLY TO TIGHTEN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA IN ORDER TO FORCE THE REBEL IAN SMITH REGIME TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE. THIS WAS INDEED A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IN THAT THERE WAS NOT ONE DISSENTING VOTE CAST, WHICH REFLECT, TO SOME EXTENT, A SHIFT IN THE POSITION OF THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS REPRESENTED ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

AS A FURTHER INDICATION OF THE APPARENT RE-ASSESSMENT OF

THEIR POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE TWO LEADING WESTERN POWERS WITH INTEREST IN THIS REGION OF AFRICA, BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, HAVE OF LATE SPOKEN OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT BRITAIN'S FOREIGN SECRETARY (NOW PRIME MINISTER) JAMES CALLAGHAN MADE A MAJOR STATEMENT IN PARILIAMENT A FEW WEEKS AGO OUTLING THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON RHODESIA, AND INDICATING FOUR PRECONDITIONS FOR BRITAIN'S ENTRY INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA. THESE ARE:

(A) ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE;

(B) ELECTIONS FOR MAJORITY RULE TO TAKE PLACE IN 18 MONTHS TO TWO YEARS;

(C) AGREEMENT THAT THERE WILL BE NO INDEPENDENCE BEFORE MAJORITY RULE; AND

(D) NEGOTIATIONS MUST NOT BE LONG DRAWN OUT.

ON 4TH MARCH, 1976, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER, TESTIFYING BEFORE THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES' COMMITTEE ON INTERNATION RELATIONS, DECLARED:

"WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND WE WILL USE OUR INFLUENCE IN THAT DIRECTION. WE BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT, OR THE AUTHORITIES OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA ENGAGED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE PERHAPS THEIR LAST OPPORTUNITY IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PEACEFUL EVOLUTION. AND, THEREFORE, WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THEY WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT."

"ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ALSO FEEL THAT CUBAN MILITARY FORCES
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IN THIS SITUATION WOULD PRESENT THE GRAVEST PROBLEMS. AND WE CANNOT ACCEPT A PRINCIPLE THAT ANY STATE MUCH LESS A WESTERN HEMISPHERE STATE, HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN ANY CRISIS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD ON ITS OWN - HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN THESE CRISIS WITH MILITARY FORCES."

"AND, THEREFORE, WE WOULD HAVE TO CALL THE ATTENTION OF CUBA TO ACT WITH GREAT CIRCUMSPECTION BECAUSE OUR ACTIONS CANNOT ALWAYS BE DECUED FROM WHAT WE DID IN ANGOLA.

WHILE ON THE ONE HAND FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN'S STATEMENT WAS WELCOMED IN MANY QUARTERS IN AFRICA - REJECTED BY SMITH AND THE RACISTS OF RHODESIA - AS A POSITIVE STEP BY THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER'S STATEMENT EVOKED SOME DISAPPOINTMENT AND UNFAVOURABLE COMMENTS FROM MANY SOURCES AROUND THE CONTINENT, PART-

ICULARLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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